

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0672

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW), PFOR, TZ, AF, US
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT TO TANZANIA AND SOME THOUGHTS
ON ITS IMPLICATIONS

1. SUMMARY: AS SEEN FROM DAR ES SALAAM, THE PRINCIPAL RESULTS
OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S FEBRUARY 3-7 VISIT TO TANZANIA ARE:
(A) AN EFFECTIVE ESTABLISHING OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S
BONA FIDES WITH AFRICANS, (B) A STRONG DEMONSTRATION OF US
INTEREST IN COOPERATION AND DIALOGUE WITH THE LEADERS OF
REVOLUTIONARY AFRICA, (C) A SENSE OF SATISFACTION WITH THE US
APPROACHING EUPHORIA ON THE PART OF PRESIDENT NYERERE
WHICH COULD MAKE FOR DISILLUSION LATER IF US ACTIONS DO NOT LIVE
UP TO EXPECTATIONS, (D) A CLEAR REVELATION OF CURRENT DIFFERENCES

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OF APPROACH AND EMPHASIS AMONG VARIOUS AFRICAN LEADERS, AND (E) A
HIGHLIGHTING OF THE FACT THAT FOR THE TIME BEING US-AFRICAN
RELATIONS ARE IN PRETTY GOOD ORDER BUT ALSO THAT WE WILL NEED TO
DECIDE FAIRLY SOON WHAT OUR OVERALL APPROACH TO AFRICA IS GOING TO BE.

END SUMMARY.

2. US BONA FIDES: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT TO TANZANIA, REINFORCED BEFORE AND AFTER BY THE PRESIDENT'S AND THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENTS ON RHODESIA, APARTHEID, THE BYRD AMENDMENT, ETC., RESULTED IN A SIZEABLE INCREASE IN TANZANIAN AND AFRICAN TRUST IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S BONA FIDES. TO LEADERS LIKE NYERERE MORAL STANDS ARE IMPORTANT; THE US IS FINALLY TAKING A PROPER ONE. NYERERE BELIEVES THAT THE US WILL STICK TO IT-- AS MUCH, PERHAPS, BECAUSE OF WHAT AMBASSADOR YOUNG TOLD HIM ABOUT PAST AND PLANNED EFFORTS TO CHANGE WHAT IS WRONG WITH OUR OWN COUNTRY AS BECAUSE OF ANYTHING YOUNG HAD TO SAY ABOUT SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS AS SUCH. ALL OF THE AFRICAN LEADERS WITH WOM DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD SEEM TO SHARE THAT VIEW.

3. THE DIALOGUE WITH REVOLUTIONARY AFRICA: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S SPENDING FOUR DAYS AT WHAT WAS A RATHER MODEST EVENT IN GLOBAL TERMS WAS NOTED IN AFRICA. TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE, VICE PRESIDENT JUMBE, AND PRIME MINISTER KAWAWA WERE PLEASED THAT THE US HAD COME IN A BIG WAY TO THEIR REVOLUTIONARY BIRTHDAY PARTY. THE RADICAL, USUALLY VITRIOLIC TANZANIAN MEDIA TREATED THE US UNUSUALLY KINDLY, ALBEIT MORE BY ACTS OF OMISSION THAN OF COMMISSION. THE HIGHLY VISIBLE US PRESS PARTY WAS AN ADMINISTRATIVE NUISANCE, BUT ITS PRESENCE FURTHER DEMONSTRATED US INTEREST AND PROVIDED NYERERE AND KAUNDA WITH A CHANCE TO SPEAK DIRECTLY TO AMERICAN AND WORLD OPINION. ALL OF THIS, TOGETHER WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT OF SOMALIA AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF MADAGASCAR, MADE CLEAR THAT THE US IS SEEKING CLOSER CONTACT WITH RADICAL AFRICANS AND HAS MORE INTEREST IN THEIR PROBLEMS THAN HAS BEEN THE CASE IN THE PAST.

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4. THE DANGER OF EUPHORIA: FROM THREE SEPARATE SOURCES WHO WERE PRESENT AT NYERERE'S POST MORTEM ON THE YOUNG VISIT, WE HAVE HEARD REPORTS OF INTENSE SATISFACTION WITH THE ABOVE. THIS HAS BEEN ECHOED -- AND PERHAPS EXAGGERATED -- IN TANZANIAN REPORTS TO OTHER FOREIGN DIPLOMATS. ONE RESIDENT AMBASSADOR WAS TOLD THAT NYERERE HAD CONCLUDED AFTER THE YOUNG VISIT THAT IF THERE HAD TO BE A FOREIGN PRESENCE IN AFRICA, IT WOULD BE BETTER THAT IT BE AN AMERICAN THAN A SOVIET ONE. IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE ALSO THAT NYERERE'S SUDDEN TURNING TO THE US ON FEBRUARY 10 TO REQUEST GOOD OFFICES TO DEFUSE A SITUATION WITH KENYA ABOUT WHICH HE WAS WORRIED GREW OUT OF THE WARM FEELING INSPIRED BY RECENT CONTACTS. DURING A THREE-HOUR SESSION WITH THE YOUNG PARTY, SWAPO'S SAM NUJOMA DID NOT ABANDON HIS EIGHT "NON-NEGOTIABLE DEMANDS" BUT DID INDICATE HIS HOPE THAT THE US WOULD CATALYZE A NAMIBIA CONFIDENCE AND THAT A SETTLEMENT MIGHT COME OUT OF IT. FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST, REVOLUTIONARY AFRICA HAS GREATER RECEPTIVITY TO US THINKING THAN EVER BEFORE. STILL, SOME TIME SOON, ALL OF THESE AFRICAN LEADERS WILL EXPECT US TO PRODUCE FOR THEM.

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EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

5. DIFFERENCES AMONG AFRICANS: THE ABILITY OF THE US TO DO SO IS NOT ENHANCED BY THE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH AND EMPHASIS THAT EMERGED FROM DISCUSSIONS WITH THE VARIOUS AFRICAN LEADERS. KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA, MESIRE OF BOTSWANA, AND WAIYAKI OF KENYA, FOR EXAMPLE, SEEM TO WANT THE US TO TAKE OVER DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY FOR A RHODESIAN SOLUTION NOW. KAUNDA'S REMARKS REFLECTED A CONCERN WITH MILITARY ACTION IN A BLACK VERSUS WHITE CONTEXT. NYERERE AND MOBUTU (AN UNLIKELY COMBINATION*) WANT THE BRITISH TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY TALK ABOUT CONCILIATION AND EMPHASIZE POLITICAL RATHER THAN RACIAL FACTORS. BOTSWANA AND BURUNDI DIRECTLY, AND ZAMBIA BY IMPLICATION, WANT MORE AMERICAN AID. NYERERE AND NUJOMA TALKED POLITICS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY AND NEVER MENTIONED AID.

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6. THE US APPROACH: THE YOUNG VISIT HIGHLIGHTED NOT ONLY THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA BUT SERVED ALSO AS A REMINDER OF THE VARIETY OF INSTRUMENTS FOR DEALING WITH THEM WHICH WE HAVE AT OUR DISPOSAL. FOR THE CONTINENT AS A WHOLE AND ESPECIALLY THE SOUTHERN PART OF IT, THE INDICATIONS ARE THAT MORE US ECONOMIC AID WILL BE AVAILABLE. FOR BOTSWANA, BURUNDI, ZAMBIA, AND PERHAPS EVEN MOZAMBIQUE, WE CAN USE THIS TO ENCOURAGE COOPERATION, RELIEVE SOME OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS, AND, WHERE APPROPRIATE, AS A SUPPORT FOR THEIR VARIOUS ROLES VIS-A-VIS THE CONTROVERSIAL PARTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. IN ADDITION, FOR KENYA, ZAIRE, AND PERHAPS ZAMBIA, WE CAN PROVIDE LIMITED SECURITY ASSISTANCE, E.G., ARMS SALES AND SHIP VISITS. FOR NYERERE WE CAN CONTINUE AND INTENSIFY THE POLITICAL AND MORAL DIALOGUE HE CHERISHES, SEND OUR ANDY YOUNGS TO SEE HIM, AND PERHAPS ASK HIM TO COME TO VISIT US FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S DAYS.

7. A MIXED APPROACH SUCH AS THIS COULD PARTIALLY SATISFY THE ASPIRATIONS OF MOST AFRICANS AND WARD OFF FOR THE TIME BEING A BITTER REACTION TO PRESENT EUPHORIA. OUR RECENT RECORD ON SOUTHERN AFRICA IS NOT BAD IN MOST AFRICAN EYES, AND THAT WILL GIVE US A LITTLE TIME EVEN THERE. NEVERTHELESS, AND, SOONER RATHER THAN LATER, WE WILL HAVE TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEMS OF NAMIBIA, RHODESIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA -- NOT JUST TO SATISFY AFRICANS BUT TO UPHOLD OUR OWN PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.
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